DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 150 669 CS 502 013

AUTHOR Anapol, Malthon H., Ed.
TITLE Theme Issue: Intercultural Communication.
INSTITUTION Metropolitan Washington Communication Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 34p.; Document may not reproduce clearly due to print quality
JOURNAL CIT MWCA Encoder; v5 n2

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Biculturalism; *Bilingualism; *Black Youth; Concept Formation; *Developing Nations; Disadvantaged Youth; Graduate Study; Higher Education; International Relations; *Program Development; Research Needs; Self Esteem; *Speech Communication
IDENTIFIERS Black English; District of Columbia (Washington); *Intercultural Communication

ABSTRACT

The four articles in this publication address the following topics: opportunities for developing a graduate program in international and intercultural communication in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area; the nature of bilingualism and biculturalism in an urban context and their implications for intercultural communication; a typology of social communicators active in developing societies, the usefulness and shortcomings of each class of communicators within the typology, and related areas of investigation for rhetorical scholars; and an investigation concerned with the relationship between the amount of black vernacular English spoken by inner city school children and their academic self-esteem formation. (GW)

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ED150669

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MWCA Encoder

The Metropolitan Washington Communication Association Encoder

Volume 5 Winter 1978 Number 2

Theme Issue on Intercultural Communication

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From The Editor...

Intercultural Communication as a theme: Back in 1973 your editor was senior author of a report on graduate study in our discipline.[1] It seems appropriate to quote a few lines from that article now, "communication and intercultural communication have registered significant increases, communication showing 63% *more programs and intercultural communication a 200% increase...*

The trend that we observed in that study has conitued unabated and intercultural communication has become one of the true growth areas of our field. Once again we are fortunate in being able to develop the many facets of our theme and I think you will find the articles in this issue to be both an introduction to and a representative cross section of the work being done in intercultural communication. Once again you will find both established contributors to the area and new faces.

In answer to several inquiries we have received, The Encoder is a refereed journal. We use consulting editors in the theme area as reviewers for each issue and at times associate editors to assist with individual themes. Dr. William Starosta has served as the associate editor of this issue. We will acknowledge the contributions of the consulting editors *en masse* in the final issue for each academic year. Finally, we want to remind you that the theme for the third and last issue of the current year will be organizational communication. You will find details about scope and submission elsewhere in this issue.

[1] Malthon M. Anapol and H. Thomas Hurt, "Graduate Study in Speech," *Speech Teacher*, 32, (January 1973), 18-26.

Developing A Graduate Program in International And Intercultural Communication In Metropolitan Washington

Michael H. Prosser
University of Virginia

According to recent surveys by the Speech Communication Association, the study of international and intercultural communication is among the fastest growing subjects embraced by the broad designation of speech communication. It is possible to test the development of an area of study in various ways. What kind of emphasis have professional and scholarly organization s placed on the subject? Are there major undergraduate and graduate programs in the subject area? Are sophisticated training programs being developed for other segments of the population who need to use such programs in a practical way? What written materials, texts, curriculum materials, and research, are being developed? Does the subject area have a firm basis for the development of theoretical and practical constructs and ideas? Other questions could be asked.

Since the publication of Robert T. Oliver's *Culture and Communication* in 1962 and Alfred Smith's *Communication and Culture* in 1966; the 1966 initiation of the publication of *Communique* as a fairly regular newsletter for those interested in intercultural communication; the Wingspread Conference held in the late 1960s by members of the International Communication Division of AEJ and the subsequent publication of James Markham's *International Communication As A Field of Study* , in 1970; and the early courses offered in the mid and late 1960s by Robert Oliver at Pennsylvania State University, William Howell at the University of Minnesota, and Edmond Glenn and Edward Stewart at the University of Delaware, considerable strides have been made in developing international and intercultural communication as a legitimate area of study within the general framework of the broader study of communication, but also with important interdisciplinary dimensions. Indeed, the newly named International Communication Agency in Washington, developed from the US Information Agency and the State Department's Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs, has offered a graduate level course in intercultural communication ten times since 1966 for its mid-career officers and is presently considering whether such a course should be a prerequisite for advancement to senior leadership ranks for all of its officers overseas and in Washington. By the early 1970s, federal grants were

being given universities to develop programs in the area; more texts and research were being produced; more trained persons in intercultural communication were emerging; the professional and scholarly organizations were giving more attention to the development of the subject; specialized conferences were being held on the paramaters of the subject; and more agreement was being reached on specific aspects of international and intercultural communication to which teachers and trainers must pay attention if they are to give the subject fair attention to develop it strongly.

Today, we are on the threshhold of important new accomplishments in developing international and intercultural communication as a field of study with dimensions not just of a national character but on a truly international level. Additionally,the contributions so far lead us to recognize that major constructs in such a study are hardly limited to a single discipline, but must embrace a very realistic inter disciplinary commitment. While the study of international communication specifically may emphasize political and national systems of communication individually or on a comparative basis, and intercultural communication explores the critical distinctions offered by cultural and sociological considerations, both are complementary, and the well-trained person needs to be cognizant of the implications of both sets of communication. Thus, such a well-trained person needs to understand the contributions of such fields as communication, political science, history, cultural anthropology, psychology, sociology, possibly geographical area studies, and probably language studies, as well as various research methodologies. Others could be added, but the emphasis should always stress those dimensions which heighten international and intercultural insights, within the basic framework of communication. This framework distinguishes the international or intercultural communication specialist from the specialists of the other subject areas.

The ideal graduate program in international and intercultural communication might, like many other graduate programs, be tailor-made to suit the individual candidate in many of its details. However, every such candidate should share certain similar kinds of information. Through the recent conferences and various types of publication, it is becoming clear that such a fundamental agreement is beginning to emerge that training in international and intercultural communication includes at least an understanding of such communication components as exist through our various communication models and paradigms, value clarification, thought-patterning, perception, attitudes, opinion development, and linguistic and nonverbal or paralinguistic codes as they exist and occur among and between cultural groups, peoples, and national groups. It is probably also important that such a candidate be aware of the impact of communication when exploring conflict resolution, media systems, psycho and sociolinguistics, and the characteristics which link the study of crosscultural psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

As I am describing the well-trained person at the graduate level, it is

assumed that he or she will also be well-trained in research methods, hopefully humanistic, behavioral, and empirical techniques, including computer programming, and especially field research methods. While the expert of intercultural communication within a largely monolingual society may not be required to know a foreign language or languages fluently, anyone attempting to undertake field research in a society whose language structure is different than that which he or she comes from simply has no alternative but to become fluent in one or more additional languages. Also, if one wishes to become expert in the communication systems, either at the interpersonal or collective level, of a specific foreign culture, he or she needs a measure of expertise also in the cultur especifics such as history, literature, religion, customs, language and so forth of that culture, thus leading potentially to a minor either on a regional or cultural-specific basis.

At the very least, a core of study at the graduate level which should be common to all future-trained experts in international or intercultural communication at the Ph.D. level might begin to include the following:

A basic graduate level communication theory course;

A specific graduate level course in intercultural communication;

A specific graduate level course in international media.

A research methodology course, stressing communication research and ideally emphasizing crosscultural techniques which would also be applicable to the study of crosscultural psychology, sociology, and anthropology;

And a thesis-or-dissertation-length field study in the context of a contrast culture, ideally with an interdisciplinary faculty committee whose interests stress crosscultural research methods. While a laboratory study might be substituted, the study of international and intercultural communication especially lends itself to field studies.

Other desirable additions to such a core would ideally include, in addition to other courses in communication:

One or more courses in cultural anthropology; sociology; psychology; media technology; social change; psycho and sociolinguistics; comparative literature; history of a specific people or region under consideration; advanced research methodologies; and the appropriate area and language studies required to undertake sophisticated research in the particular location of interest. Naturally, a special sensitivity must be developed for international and intercultural studies, a factor which cannot always be created within the classroom setting, and often requires extensive living among the people to be studied, with an attempt to learn equally well from them as from the academic and classroom situation.

It is obvious that many of us who are teaching international or intercultural communication as major aspects of our work, or more importantly who are helping to develop future leaders in this area of study, are less well-prepared than we expect our graduate students to be. Additionally, it is not always possible within the single university to provide all of the subject-area and methodological courses and research

resources that would be desirable, and very certainly not within the context of single disciplines. However, the growing importance of the study of international and intercultural communication and its very important interdisciplinary linkages which must be present to make such a program successful leads me to the central subject of this essay. At the same time that interest is growing in many universities to develop such graduate programs, budgets are shrinking, thereby requiring that such programs be established with a minimum of added faculty and funding. Although universities in the United States and abroad are consistently adding new courses, peograms, and faculty in international and intercultural communication, there are still few genuinely excellent centers of such graduate education.

It is precisely such a gap that needs to be filled by a concerted effort, and a gap which can be filled in the near future in the Washington metropolitan area. Two professional organizations heavily committed to the growth of the study of international and intercultural communication are now housed in the Washington area: the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR) has been funded with a $70,000 grant to locate its headquarters at Gerogetown University and the Speech Communication Association (SCA) is now permanently housed in nearby Falls Church. Georgetown University is likely to receive a federal grant of major proportions to establish an intercultural center near its main campus in Washington. The Washington Metropolitan Universities Consortium, and other nearby universities, have the capacity to develop a significant graduate program in international and intercultural communication, and could perhaps have such a program centrally housed in the expected Georgetown inte-cultural center facilities to be built in the near future, with such contributions from the various universities as could be made virtually with present budget and faculty. To name a few metropolitan universities with committed faculty to the study of international and intercultural communication, we could already include Georgetown, George Washington, American, Howard, the University of Southern California -Washington Center, the University of Maryland, and the University of Virginia's Northern Virginia Extension Center. Others are likely.

An important consideration for developing such a graduate program, on an inter-university and interdisciplinary basis would be to make a number of assessments which would help to establish whether an actual state of readiness for the establishment of such a graduate program in the Washington metropolitan area already exists or whether it could be developed in the near future. A committee might create itself on an *ad hoc* basis, including both likely committed university and governemnt persons, who could attempt to make a realistic appraisal of the prospects for beginning such a graduate program.

It would be important to identify those persons already heavily committed to the study of international and intercultural communication in the Washington metropolitan area; to assess what graduate offerings are

already available which would contribute either to a core program or to a complementary program, and with a goal or expanding the number of interested persons beyond those who already consider them selves experts specifically in international and intercultural communication; to determine specifically how such a program might fit into the proposed intercultural center which Georgetown University's leaders expect to build with federal funds in the near future, at least on an administrative basis, and possibly also on a shared faculty-funding basis; to determine what basic budget requirements would be essential to initiate such a program; to learn what extra financial assistance might be possible for the establishment of such a program, beyond the university contributions which might be likely, for example, in HEW or foundation grants; and to discover what sort of clientel might be likely for such a program in the Washington metropolitan area, both from existing undergraduate programs in the Washington metropolitan area, within the United States and abroad, as well as government or business persons located in the Washington area, and how such persons would be able to utilize such specific training at the Ph.D. level in their future or present work.

Assuming that the Georgetown Intercultural Center is funded as expected, and assuming also that such a Center could focus as the administrative headquarters of a graduate program in international and intercultural communication with a basic core faculty attached to the Center, but with other faculty members coming either from the Consortium and other interested area faculties or from various parts of the federal government, the timing for exploring the establishment of such a program is relatively short. If the physical construction of such a Center begins in the near future, such an *ad hoc* committee, or an officially appointed committee with the mandate either from those who will be directing the activities of the Center or from the Consortium universities should begin work almost at once. The very shape, the architecture, the interior working space of such a Center, and its resource facilities are of importance to interested persons in the development of a graduate program in international and intercultural communication in the Washington metropolitan area. If the program were set to begin with the completion of the building, a large number of discussions and recommendations need to be available to the planners of the Center. Since the Center is to be funded with federal funds, the planners must take into account the responsible voices of the Washington metropolitan academic and professional community as well as those from other areas of the United States.

While many setbacks are possible, it would appear to me that the Washington metropolitan area is ready to provide one of the distinguished graduate programs in international and intercultural communication that this country might be able to offer. The timing is critical and is of the essence. There are committed persons in the Washington metropolitan area in the development of such a program; a major intercultural communication center which could house such a program is likely; SIETAR

and SCA are permanantly located in Washington and can provide added expertise; area library resources are already adequate; many courses and programs are already offered in the Washington metropolitan area which could be incorporated into such a graduate program; various universities in the Washington metropolitan area have recently made specific commitments to such courses and programs as fit into an international and intercultural communication MA and Ph.D. program; and clientel for such a program would be available from throughout the United States and abroad, and specifically from various government and multinational corporations housed in Washington. Steps should be taken in the very near future to seize the possible opportunities which are presently available to make a major impact in establishing such a graduate program. The initiative must begin now.

Michael H. Prosser is Professor of Speech Communication (in absentia, 1977-78) at the University of Virginia and from July to December, 1977, he served as the Academic Coordinator of a graduate level course in intercultural communication for the USIA in Washington and as a consultant in intercultural communication to the Agancy for its academic-government cross cultural communication seminars.

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM AS URBAN PHENOMENA: IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Many urban socities are characterized by the coexistence of different ethnic groups. Such groups may differ from each other along the dimensions of race, social organization, language and culture. Some of these differences, such as that of race, are fixed and cannot be lessened through the action of individuals. Differences of language and culture however, are not immutable. The bridging of cultural and linguistic divisions is within the means of individuals. Their bridging is, furthermore, of great importance to him. For without this, individual members of minority ethnic groups cannot interact effectively with members of other groups and thus are at a severe disadvantage in the struggle to survive in a multi-ethnic society.

Biculturalism and bilingualism are especially important in urban settings for the following reasons: 1) The need to communicate with members of other minority ethnic groups is particularly important in cities where, even when particular groups manage to segregate themselves in separate residential neighborhoods, shared employment and commercial exchanges almost always force them into interaction with one another. 2) All ethnic minorities must be able to communicate with the dominant group because it is usually the latter which controls the resources which minority members need for their survival and because contact with the dominant majority offers the best hope for individual social and economic mobility.

Many of the ethnic groups which have settled in urban areas have kept their own cultural traditions, belief and value systems and their own languages. By doing so, they have tried to build for themselves within the city a replica of the culture they left behind. And those who have lived in the city for generations have, within their own residential domains, shaped the culture of the city as much as they have adapted to it. Thus we find, in the United States "little Italys," "little Tokyos," "Chinatowns" and the like which retain major characteristics of their inhabitants' native cultures mixed with elements of the dominant American core culture.

All residents of modern industrial cities are exposed to the same city wide systems of mass communications, public education, politics, government, and economic organizations which have been shaped and are

controlled largely by the dominant population. Even as members of ethnic groups, they engage in a large portion of their daily activities in a context where the dominant norms prevail. This occasions a great deal of alternation between, and at times, a juxtaposition of their ethnic universe and that of the dominant group. This constant alternation has an effect upon a minority members participation in the social mainstream.[1] It may curtail or it may increase his opportunities within the system. Furthermore, the alternation which is symbolized by a linguistic and or culture shift is manifested in an individual's private and or public behavior.[2]

Some studies have suggested that urban dwellers living in small ethnic enclaves within the city are subject to ambivalent feelings about their ethnic group and the society at large.[3] On the one hand, they experience an inward pull towards identification with their ethnic groups which is reinforced through such forces as loyalty to the mother tongue, cultural ethno-centrism and to a greater or lesser degree, through ethno-religious affiliation. On the other hand, there is an outward pull towards assimilation into the dominant culture which offers social and economic mobility. This pull is augmented by pressures for acceptance of a common language and culture which are exerted through citizenship, working conditions and educational requirements. The conflicting pull towards ethnicity and towards assimilation encourages the maintenance of separate styles of life. It is this kind of conflict that fosters the growth of bilingualism and biculturalism.

The Nature of Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Bilingualism has been defined in many ways, depending on the theoretical and or methodological orientations underlying an investigator's discipline. This section will attempt to draw together various meanings of bilingualism and biculturalism in an urban context.

Bilingualism is the knowledge and use of two or more languages within a given speech community. Knowledge of each language can range from minimal functional proficiency to native-like control.[4] Knowledge of linguistic forms includes the recognition of the range of code diversities that are associated with and used through community-known rules of appropriateness, with specifiable social relationships and community networks.[5] Use of each language depends on each speaker's differing degrees of linguistic competence and the social usage within the community. The distribution of usage is associated with complementary sets of attitudes and cultural values held by members of a speech community towards the two or more languages in question.

"The messages produced in the two or more languages employ differently constructed and organized units, different grammatical rules, and different and equally arbitrary lexical systems, excepting occasional cognates. To the extent that phonemic systems are different, two sets of vocalic skills on the encoding side have to be maintained. Since the entire systems of traditional redundancies in two languages are different, alternative anticipational and dispositional integrations have to be established. And since the lexical aspects of messages in two languages

are different, alternative sets of semantic decoding and encoding habits have to be maintained in other words, alternative sets of associations between message events and events in representational system, or meanings"[7]

Every society has ritualized occasions when the form of language to be used is strictly prescribed.[8] While both parties to a communicative exchange are able to understand various forms of a language, the use of a particular form or forms on that occasion would be considered as a serious *faux pas*. For this reason, a change in the language in the course of a communication often signals a change in the topic or of the definition of the communication event.[9]

Language has an underlying core culture which gives it substance and meaning.[10] This core culture includes role relationships, topics and locales, domains of interaction, and values and beliefs that provide the range of alternative patterns of meaning and behavior. When one communicates in a certain language, one invariably communicates something about its underlying culture that is abstracted in that particular language. A bilingual person can shift from one culture to another. Thus, a person who is bilingual is also usually bicultural.

Biculturalism/Bilingualism refers to the knowledge and the application of corresponding patterns of behavior which are associated with and symbolized by language that is selected for use in a given context. Biculturalism/Bilingualism enables an individual to retain his ethnicity while he learns new skills for operational integration into the new culture. It is, in this context, a stable and desirable phenomenon for integration on the national level while at the same time, it serves an integrative function on the subcultural or ethnic level.

Bilingualism and biculturalism can be acquired in many ways: through education, from the mass media, through day to day participation in a multi-lingual, multi-cultural society.[11] The learning process may take place while growing up in a bilingual adult milieu, as a member of a bilingual group or monolingual minority, or by moving to a new linguistic environment. It is facilitated by education, work needs, or through government intervention. It is accelerated by intermarriage, culture and language contacts, population expansion and social and economic mobility.

Bilingualism and biculturalism are most likely to exist in communities where members engage in a considerable range of roles, where access to several roles is open to them; is facilitated by powerful social institutions and processes; and where roles are clearly delineated in terms of function.[12] Both bilingualism and biculturalism can help to ease the transition from one system to another by expanding socio-cultural ties and by increasing integrative ideologies, loyalties and behavioral realizations.

Sample studies have indicated that bilingualism and biculturalism are more common in modern urban, industrial societies than in traditional rural agricultural societies.[13] There are several explanations for this: They include settlement patterns, occupational considerations, social and

economic motivations, increased interactions with outside groups, the influence of cultural institutions and the degree of acculturation, integration or assimilation into the dominant society. Before these factors are discussed individually, a brief description of the type of urban setting which fosters the phenomena of bilingualism and biculturalism may be useful.

One of the most dramatic happenings which have occurred within recent decades has been the movement of large segments of populations from relatively undeveloped areas, with rigid social systems, to dynamic industrialized urban centers. These centers contain the industrial complex of machines and the demand for skills which attract individuals or small groups in search of wider opportunities or alternative ways of life, or who have been forced to to move from other areas because of the lack of land or of opportunities for a better way of life. As a result, a large number of disparate groups originally unconnected or unaware of each other's existence converge on the city, and settle there.[14]

The large metropolis which is created by such in-migration consists of distinctive sub-communities separated by geographical, social or economic barriers.[15] The spatial patterning of a city takes the form of functional compartmentalization which produces a residential section, a business section, an industrial section, a recreational section and the like. In the residential section, there usually are small pockets which combine business, work and recreation on a very small scale. These pockets exist to fill the day to day needs of the neighborhood, thus the services offered are usually rather limited in scope. These small pockets may be largely monolingual and monocultural. But the larger centers of specialization, which serve members of all ethnic groups in the city, are almost invariably arenas of bilingual and bicultural interactions.

Factors Affecting Bilingualism/Bculturalism

1. Settlement patterns

It is reasonable to assume that there is a strong association between residential segregation and linguistic behavior. The high concentration of a group with the same mother tongue and cultural heritage within a certain boundary helps in the maintenance of the ethnic culture and language. As Lieberson has observed "high segregation causes low bilingualism because it reduced the need for acquiring another language for residentially based activities such as shopping, neighboring and the like. On the other hand, bilingualism reduces the need for segregation as a mechanism for survival since a group that can communicate with others has much less reason to isolate itself redidentially."[16] However, if an ethnic group is very small in number, or there are other strong pressures for bilingualism from other sources such as education and or occupational needs, segregation, by itself will not prevent the acquisition of a language of wider communication.

2. Occupational factors

The linguistic demands of the working world are among the most salient

motivations for acquiring a second language. Language not only plays a part in the procurement of a job but certain linguistic skills may be a vital prerequisite for higher income of occupational advancement.[17]

The influence of occupational demands on bilingualism are complex. First, the importance of communication in any language will vary greatly between jobs. For example, an assembly line worker may be able to get along fairly well by learning a very minimal number of words from the other language. But a sales clerk will have to have a fair command of the other language in order to be effective in his work. Second, occupations can be classified in terms of the linguistic composition of the workers and the customers. There are many cases in which workers from the same ethnic group work together in the same place or for the same company. In such cases there is not much pressure to learn more than a few expressions of the language of wider communication. However in areas where the work involves dealing with a heterogeneous clientele, there is a strong motivation to learn the language of wider communication. Finally, disparities in the proportion of persons of different ethnic groups found in certain occupations can affect their degrees of bilingualism. For example, there are occupations where pressure for bilingualism upon an ethnic group which is in the minority is not accompanied by similar pressure upon another froup which dominates employment in that occupation.[18]

3. Increased interaction with outside groups:

Density of population, which is high in urban environments, increases opportunities for interaction among metropolitan dwellers. The concentration of the populations in limited space increases the probability that like-minded members of different ethnic groups will find each other. It also provides increased opportunities for the sharing of experiences which may produce like-mindedness. Such a situation creates a need to communicate by means of a lingua franca which is distinct from the mother tongue of the two individuals. It has been suggested that one possible reason why cities have been magnets for diverse gorups and have become settings for group accommodation is that "they are ideally suited for organization, development of interaction and rapid communication" among dwellers.[19] (Makielski, p. 33). Such interaction can occur in a variety of ways including face to face communication, through letters, through the telephone,through mass and specialized media or even through third parties who act as intermediaries. These means of communication are made possible in part by modern technology which is especially available in urban, indistrialized societies. In such settings, communication becomes generalized. People become exposed to specialized and fragmented channels and interpersonal networks of communication. Furthermore, as diverse groups compete or cooperate with each other for the benefits that the dominant society has at its command, there is an increase in communication activities.[20] The multiple contacts that people make in the course of their daily activities with asso ciates and competitors from different backgrounds create the need for bilingualism and biculturalism.

4. Influence of social-cultural insittutions

Social institutions play an important role in promoting bilingualism and biculturalism. The institutions that are present in an urban society are, aside from the family, business firms, labor unions, shcools, nations and local governments, amss media and those churches which are not limited to specific ethnic groups. Each plays a more or less specialized role in presenting the dominant values of the society. The mass media, the churches, the educational institutions and the governments communicate to the population what it espects of individuals,[20] and what the individuals ought to expect of themselves in relation to the society at large. In addition, governemnts are also responsible for resolving con flicts within the society in a manner consistent with the society's prevailing vlaues. It is therefore imperative for members of ethnic minority societies who do not speak the dominant language to learn it at least for purposes of participation in and to avail themselves of the benefits that the dominant society can bestow.

5. Social rewards

It is characteristic of an industrially developed society that the language of the most economically advanced sector becomes the dominant language or the language of wider communication. Ethnic minority groups who aspire for a higher socioeconomic status may want to learn the dominant language to serve as an instrument for mobility. In this context, bilingualism and biculturalism are viewed as being the transition to a complete mastery of the dominant language and an increasing identification with the values of the dominant society.[21]

6. Degree of acculturation and assimilation

Bilingualism and biculturalism have played significant roles in the assimilation integration of distinct ethnic communities into larger core communities.[22] Bilingualism enables individuals to increase their interethnic contacts. Increase in communication activities between groups tends to reduce ethnocentric attitudes and leads to the development of cultural relativity which is a necessary corollary to integration or assimilation.

Lambert and others have suggested that an individual who has successfully acquired a second language gradually adopts various aspects of behavior which characterize members of the second linguistic-cultural group.[23] This seems to be especially true where the native tongue has a more limited currency and the acquired language has more prestige and has a wider use as a means of communication. In such cases, the prestige language usually takes over amny of the functions which could well be carried out in the more limited native language.

Institutional sanctions also play an important part in linguistic assimilation. The cultural institutions of a society cannot remain neutral. Pressures toward conformity with the dominant class norms tend to be very strong and the institutions that the dominant society controls will exert such pressures. As the members of ethnic groups struggle for survival and for social mobility, they leave behind them, either con-

sciously or unconsciously, their ethnicities.[24] As they adopt a new sociocultural order, their ties with their original ethnic group becomes more symbolic and formal rather than substantive in terms of detailed traditions and interactions of daily life.

Implications for Intercultural Communication

Bilingualism and biculturalism are central to the process of intercultural communication. Bilingualism allows communication to take place between different cultural-linguistic groups. Where members of a society do not share a common language, the channels of communication between such groups are narrowly restricted. This limits the intergroup interactions that are necessary for social cohesion and national integration.[25] Bilingualism encourages the occurrence of meaningful contacts which may lead to the elimination of cultural barriers between groups.

The social consequences of bilingualism/Biculturalism are especially complex. In the context of majority-minority relations, the ability of the minority group to communicate effectively with the majority group will depend upon the former's readiness to master the latter's language. This can mean increased social mobility and economic survival for the minority group. This may also enhance social acceptability of the minority by the majority.

It would appear that the causal relationship between bilingualism/biculturalism and intercultural communication is a two-directional one. This may explan why bilingualism/biculturalism occurs to a higher degree in urban than in rural setting. In the complex economy and the close quarters of the city, people of different origins must interact more than is necessary in the countryside. Learning each other's languages and cultures quickly in such settings is both a condition and a consequence of that interaction.

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8. See J Gumperz, Jr., *Language in Social Groups:* Selected and Introduced by A.S. Dil, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1971).

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11. See S. Lieberson, *op cit.*

12. See J. Gumperz, *op cit.*

13. See W. Whiteley, *op cit,* Lieberson, *op cit.*

14. See J. Potter et al, (eds), *Peasant Society: A Reader, [Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1967].*

15. See C. Enloe, op cit.

16. See Lieberson, *op cit.*

17. See E. Hughes, "The Linguistic Division of Labor in Industrial and Urban Societies," in *Report of the Twenty-First Annual Roundtable Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies,* J. Alatis (ed) (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970).

18. See Lieberson, *op cit.*

19. See Makielski, Jr. *op cit.*

20. See Enloe, *op cit.*

21. See V. Nahirny, J. Fishman, "American Immigrant Groups: Ethnic Identification and the Problem of Generations," *'sociological Review,* 13:311-26, 1965.

22. See J. Fishman, *Language in Sociocultural Change:* Introduction and Selection by A.S. Dil, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1971).

23. See W. Lambert, *Language, Psychology and Culture:*Selected and Introduced by A.S. Dil, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1972).

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ADVOCACY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATORS BY RHETORICAL POTENTIALITY IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES.

Dr. William J, Starosta and
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Social change has been studied by a variety of disciplines in the attempt to provide fresh insights into problems of development. However, despite its professed concern for message effect and for social influence, the field of speech communications has seldom entered the search for answers to the communication needs of developing nations. Most prominent among these needs is for rhetoric to identify and advocate the most viable solutions to social problems raised by development.

By far too little attention is given by those in speech communication to the identification and satisfaction of the unique rhetorical needs of the developing nations. This lack of attention appears to stem from a variety of factors including, at least, the parochiality of rhetoricians and their consequent failure to learn non-European languages or to grasp the jargon of other disciplines studying national development. As a result, certain pressing questions relating to the problems of development await the attention of the speech communication scholar. Particularly: Who serves to introduce the information needed for development into a social system? And how may he do so compellingly in the interests of the recognized needs for national growth and development? It appears the communication scholar can best seek answers for these questions by means of a multi-cultural analysis that stresses problem-solution as its goal.

The present essay: (1) systematically classifies nine types of social communicators in transitional societies according to their potential for transmitting information pertinent to national growth and development; (2) suggests when or if each of these classes of communicators seeks to use persuasive means to move towards modernization; and(3) specifies areas where additional rhetorical investigation could be productive.

I. DEFINITIONS

For the sake of clarity, several terms employed in this essay require definition or elaboration.

To information theorists, a "modern" problem solution is one which brings the greatest number of possible answers to bear on a given

problem. Thus, theoretically at least, the developmental "modernist" has access to a wide variety of solutions to the problems of a transitional society. The modernist, however, may or may not realize that his ultimate interest lies in the quality rather than the quantity of alternatives which will lead to adequate solutions for any given developmental problem.

The term "developmental problem" must be defined according to a given human situation. In such a context, "development" represents the organized effort by social planners to achieve political, economic or social ends thought to be in the interest of a given jurisdiction. Thus, "development" would be equally applicable to the organization of a political system, to the creation of an economic infrastructure and to the launching of a family planning campaign. Any efforts to promote developmental goals are considered positive values; those which detract, negative values.

In this essay, the terms "modern" and "traditional" do not necessarily represent author preferences. However, solutions which alleviate developmental problems are naturally to be preferred to those which fail to do so. Therefore, while the term "modern" may represent greater potential for development, any attempted solution must be judged in light of what actually transpires rather than on the basis of its modern-ness. Thus, if development results from any given attempt to draw the society closer to a satisfactory solution of its needs for change as defined by that society, the effort may be considered successful.

The recent history of social development shows that members of any given society undergoing change may be grouped according to the part they play in advocating solutions within their system. The system of classification of social communicators to be presented in this essay both reflects how such groupings typically occur and provides insights into the potential for and strategies employed by each towards the achievement of workable solutions to developmental problems.

II. TYPOLOGY

Attempts have been made in the past to classify social communicators according to their abilities to bring societal change. Most of the classifications have tended to be broad and general, with little consideration given to change agents, whose contributions to change are quite distinct. In general, too, past efforts have provided piecemeal and contradictory typologies.

A TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATORS IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES

Laggards-Indigenists	Militant Traditionalists	Opinion Leaders-Patrons	Brokers	Selective Adopters	Change Agents	Innovators	Militant Social Revolutionaries	Extraneous Modernists
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Consequently, the system labeled "A Typology of Social Communicators in Transitional Societies," which is introduced here (see below), attempts for the first time, in terms of a single organizing principle, explicitly to arrange social groupings according to their potential to introduce solutions to developmental problems.

The categories suggested below are discrete; at the same time, they form a continuum ranging from "traditional" (limited potential for problem solution) to "modern" (considerable potential for assisting in development). Sufficient types of communicators are introduced along the continuum to allow for precise categorization of the numerous classes of social communicators which exist in the transitional or developing society. Each movement along the scale from left to right towards the modern end increases the numbers of potential solutions for developmental problems. The classification is consistent with the majority of studies of communication in developing societies.

The above classification system actually extends from those who either are unaware of a need to meet developmental problems or lack the potential to introduce meaningful solutions to those who are so involved in "modern" interests they can not devote effort to develop mental considerations. Consequently, in reference to fostering social changes to meet problems relating to national development, both extremes of the spectrum are informationally inert.

The classification tacitly assumes that better education and an urban environment are associated with degree of modernity. However, the reader should avoid the conclusion that the solutions of the educated urbanist are ideal for any given developing society.

In fact, many of the increased potential solutions for developmental problems associated with increased modernity may be suitable only for a single social environment. Developmental specialists frequently note that the urbanist lacks skill in urging the acceptance of effective prescriptions for modernizing rural settings.[1] As a result, while the more "modern" solution is hypothetically to be preferred over the more "traditional" one, in practice the modernist's answers have frequently led to waste or misdirection of resources. Each situation uniquely determines which alternative for change a developing society should undertake.

III. COMMUNICATOR INFORMATION POTENTIALITIES

Each of the nine classes of social communicators offered above will differ with respect to their information-sharing capacity to stimulate social change. As each is discussed, the reader should bear in mind the lateral relationship of each class to at least its neighbor(s) on the continuum. Closer linkage and, consequently, better exchange of information between the groups exists between types near the center of the scale than at the extremes.

LAGGARD-INDIGENISTS (Class 1) are typically the last to adopt new ideas. They either fail to be aware of possible problem solutions or lack the ability to apply them or both. Their ability to initiate or to receive information concerning social needs (Relative Entropy Value in information

theory terms) is minimal because of their isolation and economic insignificance. They tend to be the slowest of all classes to respond to innovative messages, and they initiate few changes.

The laggard-indigenist is usually socially isolated, as was the case of a farmer interviewed by one of the authors in Sri Lanka. He had moved to a village some three years earlier, but had yet to be accepted by other inhabitants of the village. Sometimes the laggard indigenist's informational isolation is self-imposed, as was the case of another Sri Lanka farmer attempting to feed his ten children on a meagre tea worker wage, who said, "I have no time to gather news. I simply try to survive." 2

MILITANT TRADITIONALISTS (Class 2) are at least sufficiently aware of outside ideas to react against them. Hindu ascetics led a 1967 demonstration in New Delhi against the slaughter of cows. It drew thousands of marchers. Cross-burnings in America likewise show some awareness of external circumstances, but, at the same time, draw from within the group's informational resources for problem solutions.

Militant traditionalists appeal to those of the same persuasion; their goal is not so much change as action on the part of likeminded traditionalists with whom they associate. Frequently, the messages communicated by the militant traditionalists are neither based upon choice between a wide range of possible solutions, nor do they correspond to the developmental needs of the society. Their messages are laced with symbolism which may be held sacred by others who sympathize with the traditionalists' cause.

The OPINION LEADER - PATRONS (Class 3) are those who embody, exemplify, personify and perfect the beliefs of those around them. They have gained both credibility and authority by providing leadership in social ceremonies and rituals, by heading key local institutions (as chiefs and cast elders), or by providing scarce skills (educators and medicants). In many African tribes, the witch doctor has served in this role.

Generally, opinion leader-patrons maintain their following by equalling or even exceeding, at least in action of not in thought, the traditional norms of their followers. In this way, they keep a loyal following; to change too rapidly would cost them their status.

The patron flourishes by exchanging services for quasi-fuedal servitude. He knows the dependency relationship may soon cease to exist if he allows a client to acquire the skills needed to perform small tasks by himself. So, too, the opinion leader is no more modern than his followers. His sermons and advice center on devotion to the STATUS QUO or to the *status quo ante*. His stake in the rewritten future is uncertain, and he hesitates to whole-heartedly cooperate with developmental efforts except in cases where he can take the credit for himself and pass any blame to more radical modernists.

While many development program directors believe they have drawn the opinion leader-patron into active support of their program, more probably they have enlisted instead the assistance of *brokers* (Class 4). The broker is an individual with sufficient awareness of new alternatives

that he can no longer honestly opt entirely for certain traditional solutions, such as abstinence to achieve birth control, indigenous cures for cholera, or use of bonded servants as farm laborers. In balance, the broker's stake remains largely in the previous order. However, he has become conversant with some modern ideas, possibly through a matriculation certificate, a literacy program or a period of urban residency.

Development programs co-opt the broker to serve as a relay mechanism for modern messages. If he is used wisely, the broker can provide vital translation of urban ideas into rural terms, a process usually vital to the success of a developmental program. Typically, the modernist too frequently chooses other modernists to transmit and edit messages, with the result that the latter are unsuited to their traditional audiences. To overcome this, governments have often appointed village level workers to bring about changes in their own localities. These workers are made responsible for offering relevant innovativen information in health, agriculture, family planning and similar programs, and to present such new ideas convincingly to the more traditional elements of the society. [3] In Egypt, new literates, midwives and farmers, acting as brokers in communicating new ideas to their more traditionalist fellow villagers, are contributing significantly to the success of a social services development program.

Since the broker's basic identification is usually with the rural environment, often he experienced difficulty in comprehending the full national and international imperativeness and policy implications of his assignment. [4] By this and by other yardsticks, his options are less numerous than those of the other more modern classes on the typology continuum.

Selective adopters (Class 5) in transitional societies are relatively well schooled, middle-class individuals, who have acquired, along with their formal education, knowledge of a wide range of new informational possibilities (eg., several birth control methods, varieties of high yield crops, various savings plans). Rogers and Shoemaker have referred to this group as "the early majority."[5] As such, while tending to favor traditional practices, they will select and adopt those innovations which appear useful and or beneficial. Aware of flaws in both traditional and modern approaches to development, members of this grouping often attempt to reconcile the two extremes. [6]

Because selective adopters are neither chronically devoted to "new" solutions nor slavishly tied to uncritical reaffirmation of "old" ones, and since they take no strong advocacy position, they might be considered "objective." The relative cost, utility and desirability of alternatives determines their response to new information. And they are cautious; any support given to developmental efforts usually takes place among kinship groups in an unstructured, informal manner. Because of this low-key, pragmatic approach, social planners usually bypass the selective adopters' responses to developmental problems.

Change agents (Class 6) cross the scale's mid-point towards modernity.

They prefer to seek information for solving problems from without rather than from within the society. At the same time, they remain sufficiently conversant with traditional aspects of their own society to keep their views credible in the eyes of those at least moderately more traditional than themselves. At heart, change agents are dedicated to societal change and reconstruction. Conciously or unconsciously, they seek to be responsible for the informational mission of offering new developmental alternatives.

This grouping includes political orators, charismatic leaders, and educators who appear to succeed in phrasing new ideas in terms compelling to people of a more traditional orientation. In doing so, they frequently refer to local customs and express their innovative ideas in the local idiom. Their identity is modern, but they attempt to appear traditional in their appeals. In so doing, sometimes they are misinterpreted by other modernists.

A number of African political and social leaders have been effective change agents. President Julius Nyerere has successfully introduced his views of African socialism and hard work by all by taking up the "jembe" (hoe) himself. Perhaps an even more appropriate example of the change agent is typified by a friend of one of the authors, a young, well-educated Masai tribesmen and identifying with their simple life-style, the training center director has successfully introduced crafts, gardening, medicine and adult education among his people and artificial insemination and controlled grazing to upgrade the prized Masai cattle.

Innovators (Class 7) are similarly defined by the modernity of their life-style. Frequently, members of this grouping are so prone to accept new ideas that they fail to gain the credibility given change agents. Innovators are portrayed by those more traditional than themselves as foreigners in thought and deed. They are the Christians among Buddhists, gardeners and settled farmers amid nomads, tractor owners among small scale cultivators, or water boilers among those who find boiled water appropriate only for sick people.

Innovators have sufficient security to take chances. Traditionalists view them as eccentric, and the innovators make little effort to cultivate a favorable image for themselves. As a result, the innovators have little ability to influence others to change. Although they will be among the earliest adopters of new practices, their example does little to sway others. Usually, therefore, they have minimal impact on dominant community norms and practices.

The *militant social revolutionaries* (Class 8) are a counterpart to the militant traditionalists, in that they idealize the value of change and structured development much as the traditionalist tries to preserve a limited range of choices. The militant social revolutionary will have culled his way through numerous alternatives before settling upon a particular solution as sacred. Overtures will not be tolerated towards the compromise with previous values (or "revisionism"), but a "new order" must be substituted instead. Replacement is the keynote of the revolutionary's message, not accommodation or compromise.

With the ousting of King Farouq, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt restructured government, the military, education, business and other economic activities, assuming that his choices would cure the developmental headaches of his nation. Nasser's secret police then dealt effectively with anyone who dared to oppose the official views or suggest reversion to former policies or advocate other new approaches.

Extraneous modernists (Class 9) are informationally advanced but they fail to bring their expertise to bear on relevant developmental problems. Usually, they are too glutted with other information, too disinterested in local problems and-or too involved with other interests of their own to even consider assisting the developmental process.

Thus, like the laggard-indigenist, the extraneous modernist disinterest. Since these two groups are almost indistinguishable in developmental functioning, Dr. John C. Merrill has suggested a circle might be more appropriate than a continuum for describing types of social communicators.[7]

From the foregoing, it is obvious that all nine classes of social communicators clearly differ in their potential for introducing messages of change.

IV. COMMUNICATOR RHETORICAL POTENTIALITIES

Now that the information-giving potential for each of the classes of social communicators has been outlined, the system may be further probed to identify the potential for any class to resort to rhetorical strategies in order to bring about or to thwart development.

"Rhetorical strategies" may be defined as those deliberate efforts to change perceptions or behavior consistent with the social communicator's intent. This definition excludes both the laggard-indigenist and the extraneous modernist, since they generally do not seek to change the social system. According to the earlier class analysis, the potential of both the opinion leader-patron (3) and the innovator (7) to influence development favorably is likewise limited. Since opinion leaders do not easily break with authority or tradition and since patrons exchange services for obedience to the system, both have little desire to persuade others to modernize. Due to their aberrant behavior, the innovators lack the credibility to have much potential to change the system. Their influence is largely limited to other innovators and a few of the more wealthy early adopters. Similarly, the selective adopter (5) does not set out consciously to persuade his society to move towards development. He may persuade by example within his own family or circle of friends, performing an act which might serve as an object lesson. But, characteristically, he does not actively seek to upset the status quo of the system.

The militant traditionalists (2) and the militant social revolutionaries (8) do attempt to persuade others of the righteousness of their world views and will try all available means to accomplish their aims. Their methods of operation vary. For example, as circumstances allow, they may use peer pressures or authority to secure adoption of a particular problem solution. Also, they turn readily to coercion and force, sometimes even terrorism, to

alter the actions if not the beliefs of their society. During periods of social ferment, they become public spokesmen at minimum, often even firebrands or agitators.

As for the strategies of the brokers (4) and the change agents (6), the latter willingly choose commitment to improve the transitional society. They take a leadership role in seeking solutions to developmental problems, whereas the brokers are followers. In the main, brokers are less imitators of change ideas than moderately willing receivers of such ideas.

Typically, when the change agent senses a cultural, educational or social gap between himself and his audience, he appoints brokers as middlemen to carry out his envisioned reforms or problem solutions. It is the change agents, assisted by brokers, who share most of the responsibility for change-through-persuasion in developing societies. In the case of the Egyptian brokers, referred to earlier in this discussion, their activities were initiated and directed by young, educated Egyptians who envisioned the social service program which has modernized life in many Nile River villages.

As a social system becomes more modern, social communicator strategies shift. Militant traditionalists may be forced into open rebellion against the changes. Opinion leaders, feeling their authority among followers with whom they have had influence slipping and competition with their dominant ideas mounting, will resort to more direct persuasive means. With the development of his society, the selective adopter will become a more active persuader as he discovers the chan ges he had advocated becoming more acceptable. With the loosening of tradition and the increasing acceptability of their modern identity, change agents either become engrossed in attending to the details of change or, to maintain their credibility, move on to slightly more modern ideas. Since their ideas no longer appear so radical when the society modernizes, early innovators become acceptable to the social system, but other innovators arise to advocate even more modern ideas, and those new ideas may at first be as unacceptable as those of their predecessors. With development, social revolutionaries either lose their zeal for radical social change and become innovators or else they assume advocacy of new, even more radical changes than they originally championed. Sould the social change overtake them, they become the new reactionaries. Their roles in the modernizing society are often dependent on how effectively the change agents absorb them into the modernizing process. Usually, however, even the most modern society retains some revolutionaries who militantly advocate radical reconstruction. Their innovations, introduced by the selective adopters, change agents and innovators to the society, serve to keep the modernization process from stagnation.

A number of questions about the informational and rhetorical potentialities the proposed model may suggest, including those which follow, deserve study before further hypotheses can be offered. Under what conditions will information flow in both directions along the continuum? How can the best traditional values be preserved and communicated up

the continuum? Who will do so most capably and who could be induced to do so? Where does the bulk of the population of a developing society fit into the model? If traditional solutions are more viable than modern ones, which traditional class can best serve to articulate the best traditional solutions in terms comprehensible and persuasive to the modernist? Are most individuals typically informational laggards or are they better characterized as selective adopters? What is the optimal proportion of change agents for a society to begin to move towards modernity? Are differences between Classes 1 through 4 vs. 5 through 9 on the continuum so great as to constitute separate and distinct social groupings or even cultures? Are the differences between 6 and 7 and between 3 and 4 in fact cultural differences, especially for the traditional societies? Does the membership in a class shift according to the subject of the communication--in other words, can individuals be members of several groupings simultaneously, depending upon the issue at stake? Do links between classes similiarly shift between developmental issues? What functions do rhetoric and other persuasive communication best serve in the developing society?

In relation to this final question, the authors propose that communication which involves persuasion between the classes of communicators outlined in this treatment should serve *to broaden the range of viable alternative solutions to developmental problems and to implement those solutions which promise the most effective development at the least social cost.* The reader will note that this proposal does not necessarily call for "modern" solutions, for it is the opinion of the authors that modern solutions are only occasionally viable and their cost in terms of social disruption can be staggering.

V. *SUMMARY*

The foregoing discussion offers a typology of social communicators active in developing societies, discusses the usefulness and shortcomings of each class of communicator within the typology, outlines the potential information-bearing and persuasive strategy of each, and, finally, points out further areas of investigation awaiting the rhetorical scholar. But, most importantly, the treatment serves to challenge rhetoricians and other communication scholars to address themselves to study of persuasive communication in developing societies and actively to bring their knowledge and expertise to bear on the solution of developmental problems faced by the non-European world.

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turer in International Communications in Broadcasting in Lebanon and in Egypt. On two occasions, he has conducted sponsored research in Africa. He has lived in African and Middle Eastern developing nations for over 17 years.

NOTES

1. An artist in charge of family planning materials for one government institute in India complained: "The materials are created within an urban environment by those who have no comprehension of village life. Can they be expected to have the desired result?" (12 February, personal interview by Dr. Starosta during research sponsored by American Institute of Indian Studies).

2. The study by Dr. Starosta, "Information Acquisition Patterns in Village Sri Lanka: A structural Model of Communication and Development," was made possible by a Hays-Fulbright Fellowship.

3. See William J. Starosta, "The Village Level Worker as Rhetorician: A Critique of Diffusion Theory," *Central Speech Communication Journal*, Summer, 1976.

4. These impressions are gleaned from a case study report of the work of fifteen selected village level workers in Northern India. See National Institute of Community Development, "Village Level Workers: Their Work," a report to the Government of India, 1962.

5. Rogers, Everett M. and F. Floyd Shoemaker, *The Commun ication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, (New York: Free Press, 1971).

6. See Marshall Singer, *The Emerging Elite*, (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1964).

7. The observation was made in a discussion of the present manuscript. Contrast to Merrill's model in *The Imperatives of Freedom*.

8. As one example, Rogers argues that links tend to vanish for "taboo" topics. See *Communication Strategies for Family Planning*, (New York: Free Press, 1973).

Academic Self Concept Formation: A Socio-Psychological Problem in Intercultural Communication

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One aspect of intercultural communication which has received little attention is in the area of variables which impact on the academic self concept of school aged children. Appropriate education for classrooms consisting of linguistically different children continues to perplex researchers. Black English speakers, Spanish speakers, and Appalachian white speakers' academic performance is adversely affected by variables which presently exist in the classroom. We can ill afford, as educators, to fail to meet the needs of the culturally different. A multiethnic academic setting should incorporate a curriculum flexible enough to cover a wide range of intercultural communication.

A plethora of studies have attempted to determine the causes of poor achievement of inner city children. A review of the literature reveals that there is no simple explanation for why the urban Black child's performance is below that of the national norms; however, one possible contributor to poor academic achievement is the self concept level of the child. It is reasonable to assume that how a student feels about himself will subsequently affect his classroom performance. That is to say that a child who has a positive self image is better equipped for academic endeavors than a child who has a poor self concept.

All behavior without exception is determined by and pertinent to the perceptual field of the behaving organism (Combs and Snyggs, 1959). Most contemporary theorists believe that development of a positive self concept is nurtured only in a healthy social environment . This phenomenon requires that the organism engage in interactions with significant others who reflect positive messages. Olsen (1972) reports that we are only capable of what others expect of us because we interpret ourselves by reflected attitudes of those around us. Initially, the parents are solely responsible for the child's socio-psychological development but the number of significant others increases, including teachers, peers, relatives, etc., as the child develops.

A crucial area of development is the acquisition of language. Langunge is a tool for conceptualizing the world and relating it to the complex environment of the individul. Many culturally different children enter school with various linguistic features which the teacher may feel will handicap the child and she behaves accordingly, since ethnic and cultural diversity have been traditionally ignored in the classroom. The literature is full of studies which suggest that teachers engage in rejection of their pupils based only upon linguistic cues (Williams and Naremore, 1974, Crowl and MacGinities, 1974, Pugh, 1975). Although linguists have recently stressed the legitimacy of the linguistic features of Black Venacular English, which have evolved through the normal pidginization processes, their position has rarely been supported and implemented in the classroom. Very little attention has been focused upon the behavior by teachers and materials used in the classroom that might lead to interference with the child's identification process. Rather, the literature is full of linguistic and cognitive deprivation explanations for the black child's language skills. Turner (1949) condemns the "incredible reluctance to realize that these differences can be explained by - indeed, are the inevitable result of - normal historical procrsses, especially insofar as language is concerned".

This investigation was designed to determine how communication skills relate to how the child values himself in the classroom. Specifically, it was concerned with the relationship between amount of Black Vernacular English (BVE) spoken by inner city school children and their academic self-esteem formation.

BACKGROUND

Theorists such as Mead (1934), Adler (1935), Briggs (1970), Sullivan (1953), etc. continually stress the influence of significant others on the self concept of young children from a phenomenological perspective. They maintain that how one feels about himself is not innate, but rather, social interaction theory posits that it develops gradually through contact with other human beings (Mead, 1934; Sullivan, 1953). Feedback, in the form of appraisals, feelings, and attitudes of teachers, parents, peers, etc., shapes the child's perception of himself commensurate with the way others perceive him.

The foundation is laid for healthy self esteem formation when the child is made to feel that the relationship between him and his parents is anaccepting one. Therfore, this primary relationship provides the groundwork in the infant's attaining maximum use of his potentials. The literature reveals that most children enter school with a fairly good self concept and that the educational environment is sometimes responsible for hampering a child's self confidence.

As the child matures and learns to be less dependent upon his parents, other significant people begin to mold his personality structure. Since self esteem is affected by many dimensions of a child's life, it becomes necessary to investigate the role that the teacher and outdated materials may play in affecting the esteem formation of children. For example,

research indicates that children "bloom intellectually" if they find the teacher - student relationship rewarding (Rosenthal and Jacomsen, 1968). On the other hand, a child's discouragement about his capabilities in the classroom and his inability to relate to educational equipment may reduce his productivity.

During the last three decades, many researchers have shown interest in the area of self concept formation. In the case of the inner city school child the self concept has been analyzed from various perspectives and "negative identity", and "impaired self concept" lab els are used most often to describe him. Theorists who interpret self concept from a phenomenological viewpoint maintain that how one perceives onself is directly related to his awareness of himself in his total environment. This awareness of feelings, perceptions, and behavior is the key to the self concept.

In the case of the urban black child, the color-caste system continues to play a significant role in the child's view of his self image. In a pluralistic society, the majority often sets standards or values for that society, and more importantly, defines what is considered to be unacceptable. Erickson (1959) stressed the importance of the ego's adaption to the realities of the social environment in the formation of a sound sense of self identity. Failure to anal yze experiences in the proper perspective can ultimately cause serious psychological changes if one's view of a situation is distorted.

Positive self concept facilitiates maximum use of an individual's potential. Numerous studies suggest that the acquisition of intellectual, physical, or social skills are closely linked with the child's motivational level which is procured from significant others. The child feels less anxious about exploring new stimuli if he is confident about his capabilities which others instill in him. Coopersmith (1967) maintains that by providing the assurance that one's judgement is worthy and one's abilities are sufficient, the foundation for stable, anxiety-free performance is laid and nurtu red. Educators often fail to recognize individual differences of jud gment and ability, particularly in the case of the black child. Until recently, few training institutions specialized in education for the multiethnic classroom, rather, they focused upon educating the "main stream" student. The teacher, subsequently, rejected culturally and lin guistically different children as "delayed", "retarded", "slow", etc.

THE SELF CONCEPT AND ACADEMIC SELF CONCEPT RELATIONSHIP

Most self concept studies examine correlations between a measure of self concept and measures of other constructs (Shavelson, et al1976). Self concept and academic self concept are closely associated since how the child feels about himself has a direct bearing on ted since how the child feels about himself has a direct bearing on how he performs in the classroom. Shavelson goes on to say that self concept, whether as an outcome itself or a moderator variable, helps explain achievement out-

comes. It is a crucial variable in education and in educational evaluation and research, A person with positive self esteem will elicit behavior such as making the appropriate ad justments, and interacting with others in an acceptible manner.

Children from the inner city, who develop a sense of inadequacy for whatever reason, subsequently suffer in the classroom. Burg (1975) reported that there is a positive relationship between favorable perceptions of teachers' feelings and academic achievement, and that children in the advantaged social class perceive their teachers as feeling more favorably toward them than lower class child ren. Furthermore, social interaction theory (Kleinfeld, 1972) suggests that a student forms his academic self concept by internalizing the perceived evaluations of significant others, such as, teachers.

Laryea (1972) conducted an investigation to determine if there was a relationship between the achievement in theclassroom and the self concept. His hypothesis, that there is a correlation be tween these variables, was supported by the data. He concluded that the more confidence the child has in himself, the more likely he is to excel in academic pursuits. The anxiety-free performance, which Coopersmith speaks of, assists the child in overcoming barrierswhich m-ay inhibit him in the classroom. Children not only need an atmosphere that stimulates curiosity and exploration, they need rich exposure to a variety of positive experiences (Briggs, 1970). Motivation will flourish only when the environment is healthy andexciting to the child. Significant others (parents, teachers, etc,) must provide the necessary ingredients for self concept development and also for academic achievement.Dorothy Corkille Briggs capsulizes this point of view when she says "...self confidence permits the child to perform;whereas, brillance may be trapped in low self esteem."

PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION

This investigation was designed to determine the relationship between the amount of Black English spoken by preschoolers with their academic self concept. Specifically, the researcher was interested in whether children with few features of Black Vernacular English (BVE) obtained higher scores on the academic subscale of the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory that children who revealed many features of BVE. Therfore, it was hypothesized that children with fewer features of BVE would receive significantly hig her academic self concept sores than children with many features of BVE. The alpha level was set at the .05 level of confidence.

SUBJECTS AND INSTRUMENTATION

The children in this study were 160 preschoolers who had been randomly selected from a large preschool program in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. As stated in the program's brochure, these students attended a day care program whose overall objective is to give "... these preschoolers a chance for total growth and development in a sequential manner in the areas of language arts, science, math, social studies, music,

physical education, recreation, health, and nutrition".

LANGUAGE SAMPLE The experimenter had collected language samples by means of an informal conversation which placed them in Group I (those with few features) or Group II (thowe with many features). Topics discussed included the holidays, play activities,schoolwork , and stimuli from the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Kit to motivate an exchange between the experimenter and the child. Those children who verbalized four or more features of BVE were assigned to Group II and those with three or less features were assigned to Group I.Excluded from the population were all white, all non-BVE speakers, and all foreign born students.

COOPERSMITH SELF ESTEEM INVENTORY [ACADEMIC SUBSCALE] Each child was administered the academic subscale of the Coopersmith. (Reliablilty for the Coopersmith is .88).

The effectiveness of this instrument for inner city youths was determined by comparing the results with teachers"reactions to the findings during a pilot investigation. The following items assessed how the preschoolers felt about their confidence in the classroom:

Like Me	Unlike Me	
1. --------	--------	I find it very hard to talk in front of class.
2. --------	--------	I'm proud of my schoolwork.
3. --------	--------	I'm doing the best work that I can.
4. --------	--------	I like to be called on in class.
5. --------	--------	I'm not doing as well in school as I'd likke.
6. --------	--------	I often feel upset in school.
7. --------	--------	My teacher makes me feel I'm not good enough.
8. --------	--------	I often get discouraged in school.

The results of this analysis are summarized in Table I.

TABLE I

SUMMARY TABLE FOR THE ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SOURCE	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*
Treatment (between groups)	*40*	*1*	*40*	*11.43*
Error (within groups)	*566*	*158*	*3.5*	
Total	*606*	*159*		

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Black Vernacular English speakers in this study received significantly poorer scores ($F1,158 = 11.43$. $p.<.01$) on the academic subscale on the Coopersmith. (See Table I). The question is what events occuring in the academic context produced these lower findings? Several plausible explaniations are advanced in the following discussion. Although no cause and effect relationship can be established from this study, the investigator recommends that these variables be researched in future studies of this nature.

As stated earlier, teacher attitudes toward language dversity cannot be elimated as a possible contributor to lowered acade mic self concept scores. Earlier studies indicate that educators play an important role in the self fulfilling prophecy phenomenon. That is to say , that prognosis for academic success can be determined by early encounters students have in the school system.

Another viable explanation may be the curricular materials presented to the children. Even thought the preschool students included in this investigation were generally not reading, perhaps they subtly detected a rejection of BVE through the non-BVE stories that were read to them. "It would be of interest to evaluate whether the use of Black Dialect primers would eliminate the differences in aca demic self concept for children with few vs many features of BVE". It was observed by the researcher that the large majority of teachers included in this sample did not speak Black English. Burg (1975) stated that the teacher becomes the primary significant other for black inner city children. Therefore, it is possible that children using BE features, in attempting to identify with their teacher, engaged in an unconscious rejection of self in the academic context.

In a more general sense, it seems likely that children who conform most closely to Standart English feel more accepted by society. Such children do not internalize rejection to the extent that children who have many features of BVE. Hence, it is possible that the child with few features feels less anxious in the classroom oriented toward Standard English and; therfore, indicates more positive attitudes about self in the academic setting.

CONCLUSION

The pattern of self concept formation can be influenced by success or failure in the academic setting. Continued research in the areas of student teacher relationships will provide educational administrators with the foundation for recommending programs, materials, and in-services for helping change educational attitudes. This study dealt specifically with language diversity's impact on academic self concept and revealed significant differences between children who had few vs many features of Black English. This suggests that educators may fail to provide adequate techniques and materials which should be a inherent in an intercultural setting.

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